

## Message Text

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11  
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /026 W  
----- 031926

P R 150928Z MAY 75  
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0158  
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
USLO PEKING

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TOKYO 6444

EXDIS

DEPT PASS CINCPAC

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1  
TAGS: PFOR, CH, JA  
SUBJ: JAPAN-CHINA PEACE TREATY NEGOTIATIONS DEADLOCKED

REF: TOKYO 5557; TOKYO 5876; TOKYO 6321

SUMMARY: GOJ HUDDLING WITH AMB TO PRC OGAWA TRYING TO DETERMINE COURSE TO PURSUE WITH PRC TO OVERCOME "HEGEMONY" ISSUE. FONMIN AND VICE FONMIN TOLD AMBASSADOR HODGSON CHINESE ARE ADAMANT ON INCLUSION OF "ANTI-HEGEMONY" CLAUSE IN BODY OF TREATY AND SO FAR CHINESE HAVE BEEN UNWILLING TO EVEN CONSIDER JAPANESE COMPROMISE PROPOSALS. JSP NARITA'S COMMUNIQUE WITH PEKING PROVIDES A POLITICALLY SALABLE EXCUSE FOR NOT YET CONCLUDING TREATY. MEANWHILE, BRINGING "HEGEMONY" DISPUTE TO TOKYO'S COCKTAIL CIRCUIT, SOVIET EMBASSY ADDED PRESSURE TO GOJ BY LEAKING WORD SOVIETS WOULD "CUT TIES" WITH JSP IN REACTION TO THE PEKING COMMUNIQUE AND PRC AMB CHEN HAS BEEN OVERHEAD LAMBASTING THE GOJ AT COCKTAIL RECEPTIONS. END SUMMARY.

1. DURING THEIR MEETING ON MAY 13, FONMIN MIYAZAWA COMMENTED BRIEFLY TO AMBASSADOR HODGSON ON THE PRESENT STATUS  
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OF NEGOTIATIONS ON THE JAPAN-CHINA TREATY OF PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP. HE PREFACED HIS REMARKS BY STATING THAT THE PRIME MINISTER HAD BEEN RATHER "IRRITATED" WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTRY'S HANDLING OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS BOTH

IN TOKYO AND PEKING. HE DID NOT ELABORATE ON THE PRIME MINISTER'S "IRRITATION".

2. FONMIN THEN SAID THAT THE LAST JAPANESE MOVE HAD BEEN MADE THROUGH VICE-MIN TOGO'S SUGGESTION THAT REFERENCE TO THE HEGEMONY CONCEPT BE MADE IN THE PREAMBLE OF THE TREATY. THIS, HE EXPLAINED, WAS TO TEST WHETHER THE PRC HAD ANY FLEXIBILITY ON THIS ISSUE. PRC AMB CHEN HAD FINALLY RESPONDED THAT HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD SPEAK TO THIS NOTION IN PEKING.

3. FOLLOWING THE DEPARTURE OF PRC VICE PREMIER TENG HSIAO-PING FOR PARIS, AMB OGAWA HAD BEEN CALLED BACK TO TOKYO FOR CONSULTATIONS. ON THE EVE OF HIS DEPARTURE, AMB OGAWA HAD MET WITH PRC VICE-FONMIN HAN NIEN-LUNG. HE WAS TOLD THAT THE PRC WOULD ACCEPT NOTHING LESS THAN INCLUSION OF THE HEGEMONY CONCEPT, AS SET FORTH IN THE JAPAN-CHINA JOINT COMMUNIQUE OF 1972, BEING INCORPORATED AS ONE OF THE ARTICLES OF THE TREATY. FONMIN SAID THAT IT SEEMS CLEAR THE PRC REGARDS THIS ISSUE AS NON-NEGOTIABLE.

4. MIYAZAWA EXPRESSED SURPRISE AT THE STIFF ATTITUDE BEING TAKEN BY PEKING AND SAID THAT HE COULD SEE NO WAY AROUND THE PROBLEM. FOR ONE REASON OR ANOTHER, THE PRC CLEARLY IS NOT PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE ON ANY TERMS OTHER THAN THEIR OWN.

5. IN PRIVATE DISCUSSION WITH AMBASSADOR MAY 14, VICE FONMIN TOGO WENT FURTHER DESCRIBING PEKING'S ATTITUDE. WITH RESPECT TO THE PRC TREATY NEGOTIATIONS, TOGO SAID THAT PRC IS NOW TAKING WHAT AMOUNTS TO A "MILITANT" STANCE WITH RESPECT TO ITS INSISTENCE ON INCLUSION OF A HEGEMONY CLAUSE. THIS ATTITUDE STARTED TO BECOME EVIDENT IN LATE APRIL AND IS EXEMPLIFIED BY (A) PRC UNWILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER REFERENCE TO THE SUBJECT IN THE PREAMBLE RATHER THAN THE ARTICLE STRUCTURE OF THE TREATY, (B) NEWLY EMERGING REFERENCES NOT ONLY TO THE USSR BUT TO THE UNITED  
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STATES IN PRC ARGUMENTS FOR THE CLAUSE, (C) PRC UNWILLINGNESS TO RESPOND TO GOJ PROPOSALS ON THE SUBJECT MADE IN TOKYO IN ANY PLACE BUT PEKING, AND (D) A FLAT REJECTION OF GOJ REQUESTS TO EXPLORE ALTERNATE PROVISIONS OR REVISED LANGUAGE ON THE SUBJECT. IN RECENT PEKING DISCUSSIONS PRC FONMIN CHIAO KUAN-HUA TOLD ASIAN BUREAU DGEN TAKASHIMA IN EFFECT THAT THE TREATY SOUGHT BY JAPAN WAS A MATTER OF INDIFFERENCE TO PRC ON ANY TERMS OTHER THAN PRC'S OWN.

6. TOGO STATED IF PRC PERSISTS IN THIS STANCE THERE WILL BE NO TREATY THIS YEAR. PRIME MINISTER MIKI HAS BECOME ESPECIALLY ADAMANT IN THIS VIEW SINCE JSP NARITA'S TRIP TO THE PRC PRODUCED A STATEMENT IRKSOME TO GOJ. TOGO

ASSUMES PRC MUST HAVE BEEN AWARE THEIR STATEMENT WILL  
THE JSP WOULD PRODUCE SUCH AN EFFECT ON GOJ AND WERE  
NOT DISTURBED BY THAT FACT.

7. TOGO ALSO SAYS HE IS STILL NOT CERTAIN WHAT PROMPTED  
THIS HARDENING OF THE PRC STANCE. HE ADDS THAT HE HAS THE  
IMPRESSION THAT PRC AMBASSADOR TO JAPAN CHEN IS NOW BEING  
CHASTISED FOR BEING TOO ACCOMMODATING IN EARLIER NEGOTIA-  
TIONS WITH TOGO. FINALLY IN SPITE OF ALL THE FOREGOING,  
TOGO IS STILL NOT WHOLLY DISCOUNTING THE LONG SHOT POSSI-  
BILITY THAT THE PRC MAY MAKE A 180 DEGREE CHANGE IN THE  
FOREGOING "AT THE LAST MOMENT". HIS STATED REASON FOR  
THIS IS SOLELY THAT "THE COMMUNISTS OFTEN DO BUSINESS  
THAT WAY".

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED CINCPAC.

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /026 W

----- 032059

P R 150928Z MAY 75

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0159

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

USLO PEKING

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 TOKYO 6444

EXDIS

DEPT PASS CINCPAC

8. FONMIN MIYAZAWA AND AMB TO PRC OGAWA ARE CONFERRING  
WITH PM MIKI AND OTHER SENIOR GOJ AND LDP LEADERS MAY 15  
TO DETERMINE WHERE TO GO FROM HERE. CHINA DIV DEPDIR OGURA  
TOLD US TODAY (MAY 15) THAT ONE THING WAS CERTAIN: GOJ  
WOULD NOT WANT NEGOTIATIONS TO APPEAR TO BE RUPTURED OR  
EVEN SUSPENDED. DISCUSSIONS WITH CHINESE WILL CONTINUECX  
IN CONTRAST TO TOGO, UGURA SAID CHINESE HAD NOT HARDENED  
THEIR POSITION. VICE FONMIN HAN HAD BEEN AS INSISTENT ON  
"ANTI-HEGEMONY" CLAUSE LAST NOVEMBER AS HE WAS WITH AMB  
OGAWA THIS WEEK. OGURA EXPLAINS PEKING'S ADAMANT POSITION  
AS FUNCTION OF CHINESE UNCERTAINTY ABOUT MIKI AND MIYA-  
ZAWAM CHINESE DO NOT HARBOR SERIOUS DOUBTS ABOUT CURRENT  
LEADERS BUT UNLIKE FORMER PM TANAKA AND FORMER FONMIN

OHIRA, MIKI AND MIYAZAWA HAVE PLAYED NO RECENT ROLE IN IMPROVING SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS TO GIVE CHINESE FULL CONFIDENCE IN THEM. OGURA BELIEVES CHINESE SUSPECT THAT LEAK TO PRESS, AND INDEED THE CONTINUING PRESS DISCUSSION IN JAPAN OF "HEGEMONY" ISSUE, MAY HAVE BEEN PURPOSEFUL ON CURRENT JAPANESE LEADERS PART TO DELAY THE PEACE/AMITY TREATY. CHINESE ARE YET TO BE CONVINCED OF GENUINENESS OF COMMITMENT OF GOJ TOP LEADERS TO '72 JOINT COMMUNIQUE, ESPECIALLY REGARDING THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARD CONFIDENTIAL

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"HEGEMONY". UNTIL THEY ARE, OGURA BELIEVES PEKING WILL NOT BUDGE ON "HEGEMONY". ONE POSSIBILITY FOR OVERCOMING THESE SUSPICIONS, OGURA SAID, WOULD BE FOR EITHER PM MIKI OR MIYAZAWA TO GO TO PEKING AS DEMONSTRATION OF "GOOD FAITH". CHINESE COULD USE SUCH AN OCCASION TO DISCLOSE WHATEVER COMPROMISE THEY HAVE IN THEIR PCKETS. OGURA ACKNOWLEDGED THE HAZARD OF MIKI OR MIYAZAWA FALLING INTO SAME TRAP AS JSP HEAD NARITA LAST WEEK AND THE DANGERS TO EITHER LEADER'S POLITICAL FUTURE IF HE SHOULD. OGURA ALSO STRESSED THAT SUCH A TRIP WAS ONLY ONE POSSIBILITY AND NOT NECESSARILY UNDER CONSIDERATION BY TOP LEADERS.

9. WE RAISED QUESTION WITH OGURA OF WHETHER PEKING MIGHT BE HARDENING THEIR STANCE IN AFTERMATH OF INDOCHINA DEVELOPMENTS OUT OF FEAR THAT SOVIET UNION WOULD MORE AGGRESSIVELY SEEK HEGEMONY PERHAPS THROUGH ITS COLLECTIVE SECURITY SCHEME. TO ASSURE JAPAN'S SUPPORT IN OPPOSING SOVIET DESIGNS, CHINESE MIGHT NOW BE ALL THE MORE DESIROUS (AND INSISTENT) ON "ANTI-HEGEMONY" CLAUSE. OGURA DISCOUNTED THIS HYPOTHESIS AND REITERATED HIS ASSESSMENT OUTLINED ABOVE.

10. TOKYO'S COCKTAIL CIRCUITS ARE AWASH WITH TALES ABOUT "HEGEMONY" DEVELOPMENTS. TWO STAND OUT. SOVIET EMBASSY APPARENTLY LEAKED STORY THAT SOVIETS WOULD CUT TIES WITH JSP AS RESULT OF NARITA'S COMMUNIQUE WITH PEKING. ASIDE FROM WHETHER THEY WOULD ACTUALLY CUT TIES, SOVIETS MAY BE IMPLICITLY THREATENING TO PUT GREATER PRESSURE ON GOJ TO AVOID AGREEING TO PEKING'S TERMS FOR A TREATY. FRIENDLY DIPLOMAT ALSO TOLD US THAT HE OVERHEARD PRC AMB CHEN CHU AT CZECH RECEPTION EXCORIATING GOJ IN A VERY LOUD VOICE TO ROMANIAN AMB FOR OBSTINACY ON "HEGEMONY" ISSUE.  
HODGSON

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED CINCPAC.

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## Message Attributes

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